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Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTI (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): We are deeply sorry that, at a moment of serious tension and danger of nuclear war, a permanent member of the Security Council should see fit to use inadequate language when referring to Heads of Government and in judging facts that belong to history and to the sovereign political jurisdiction of States.

The North American representative is very happy with his social system. As far as the social system that he represents, have a very different opinion from us. We reject, primarily because they are false and also because they are interventionist, his affirmations and statements regarding our history and our social system.

However, there is something that we would like to highlight from the recent statement of the representative of the United States. When referring to our country, he said: "This once peaceful island..." (Supra., p. 31-34). Well, he was referring to the island of American investments, to the island of racial discrimination, to the island of exploitation and of illiteracy, to the island of the bloody dictatorship of Batista supported and armed by the Government of the United States. That island, and I address myself to the representative of the United States, has disappeared forever and it will never reappear, however many armadas your aggressive Government may send to our coasts.

To speak on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has always been an exceptional honour for us. And today, to speak on behalf of our people and our Revolutionary Government, at these moments when direct war on the part of American imperialism hangs over our homeland more heavily than ever, is a twofold honour. We belong to a people that is ready to die for its independence and its sovereignty. And those of us who are ready to die have the inalienable right to have our words and voices heard by those who are pushing mankind to the holocaust.

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## DECLASSIFIED

(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

We reject as false and dishonest all the accusations levelled by the President of the United States and repeated here by his representative to the United Nations.

The people and Government of Cuba have been forced to arm to defend themselves against the repeated aggressions of the United States Government. As Mr. Dorticos, the President of our country, stated when he addressed the General Assembly recently:

"We still hope that we shall be able to throw all these weapons overboard. We are a peace-loving nation; we want peace; we do not want war. The people of Cuba has only one desire -- to achieve great conquests in the development of its nation's future, but to do so by peaceful work, by creative labour.

"We were forced to arm -- not to attack anyone, not to assault any nation, but only to defend ourselves. And to the joint resolution of the United States Congress we replied in due course with a declaration, agreed to by our own Council of Ministers, which says in its pertinent paragraphs:

"'Were the United States able to give Cuba effective guarantees and satisfactory proof concerning the integrity of Cuban territory, and were it to cease its subversive and counter-revolutionary activities against our people, then Cuba would not have to strengthen its defences. Cuba would not even need an army, and all the resources that are used for this could be gratefully and happily invested in the economic and cultural development of the country'.

"'Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then, we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons would be unnecessary and our army redundant. We believe ourselves able to create peace.' (A/FW.1145, page 32-35)

DECLASSIFICATION

~~DECLASSIFIED~~Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, John,

Cuba is a country which has seen United States aircraft set fire to its installations without even a declaration of war. Cuba is a country that has seen its plants and factories sabotaged. Its workers wounded or killed at the criminal hands of agents of the United States Government, without a declaration of war between the two countries. Cuba is a country that has seen its territory invaded, armed trained, directed and subsidized by the United States Government, without the sanction of Kennedy, without a declaration of war. Cuba is a country that has suffered the economic boycott of the United States Government and the pressure of North American pressure in order economically and diplomatically to isolate us, without the existence of a state of war. This boycott and these pressures have come from the same United States Government which is the international protector of colonialists, dictators and discriminators; the United States itself is a discriminator and a colonialist.

Once again pirate ships have crossed the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, operating from North American bases and with the assent of North American authorities -- and these acts have occurred without the existence of a state of war between Cuba and the United States. The monarchs of the modern age, in their imperialist rivalries, were more respectful of international law than is the United States Government in the age of the United Nations and international co-operation.

As representatives to the United Nations who read the Press in the United States may see for themselves -- a few days ago The New York Times published photographs, and other newspapers did so too -- Cuba is a country that has suffered from the training on American soil of armed groups and sabotage agents whose aim is to destroy our revolutionary Government -- and this, without a declaration of war.

I have just been handed a communiqué containing information on the most recent violations of our airspace by the United States: on 22 October, at 22.50, 23.50, and so forth. I could cite many other instances, because there is an interminable list of violations of our airspace and our seas by the imperialist and aggressive Government of the United States.

And all these activities have been carried out against Cuba despite the fact that Cuba and the United States, among other Governments, signed the Convention of 1928 on the rights and duties of States in case of civil war. The first article

(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

Convention very clearly sets forth as follows the obligations of the  
signatory states:

"First, to use all the means at their disposal to prevent the inhabitants  
of their territory, nationals or foreigners, from crossing the frontier to  
foment or encourage civil war;

"Second, to disarm and intern all rebel forces that cross their frontiers;

"Third, to prohibit traffic in arms and war material;

"Fourth, to ensure that in the territory under their jurisdiction no  
group will be equipped, armed or used for warlike purposes in the interests  
of the rebel Union."

It would be interesting if the jurists of the various nations who at this  
moment are studying in the Sixth Committee of the United Nations the codification  
of international law and the necessity of ensuring its application were to  
examine in an objective way these very events that have occurred in the relations  
between Cuba and the United States of America. We understand now why it has  
been so extremely difficult to agree in the United Nations on a definition of the  
word "aggression". At this moment, when nuclear war threatens the world because  
of North American aggression against Cuba, it might be useful for the representatives  
in this Council and all the representatives in the United Nations to examine, in  
the light of the United Nations Charter and of international law, all these events  
that have occurred in the relations between Cuba and the United States.

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(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

The North American President said; and the North American representative repeated here, that our defensive arms affect the security of their territory. Appeal to the conscience of this Council: Are not the military potential and aggressions of the North Americans a threat to our people? We do not quite understand the idea that the Americans may have of the juridical equality of states, which is set forth in Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations. Their idea is that the United States, as a military Power, as a developed country, can promote, stimulate and carry out all types of aggressions, jetties, sabotage, and all acts contrary to international law -- and Cuba, a small but nevertheless courageous country, cannot arm in its own defence.

After the consecration of such a violation of law, what small country could secure in its independence and sovereignty? It would suffice for a great Securing Power to decide that the system of any small state is a subversive one, or that its defences are a threat to security, for intervention and acts immediately to take place, such as those from which my country is suffering ... If we proceed along that line, there will be no sovereignty left unscathed, only the law of the strongest will prevail in relations between States.

Now who are these who accuse Cuba of being a threatening base against United States territory? Those who possess the only foreign base in Cuba, against the will of our people, and those who now reinforce it so that from that base, too, they can attack us. It is those who have soldiers in every corner of the world, thousands of miles from their own territory. It is those who occupy Formosa, South Korea, who intervene in South Viet-Nam, who help the colonialists of Angola, and who have backed and continue to back the interventionist manoeuvres in the Congo.

According to the statement made by the representative of the United States, there are two types of military bases and two types of rockets: the good military bases and the bad ones, the good rockets and the bad rockets. And obviously the Government of the United States reserves the right to determine when a rocket is good and when a rocket is naughty, when a base is good and when a base is naughty. It is a very convincing piece of logic as far as the American representation of it is concerned.

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(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba,

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... a week ago, when war hysteria against Cuba began among the United Aggressors, Mr. Kennedy recognized publicly that the Cuban weapons were inactive. Now, and because his intelligence service informs him of it, he drives the world to the brink of war without presenting proof of his statements, without even consulting his military allies. The United States has done a very bizarre thing here. It has sent its ships to Cuba, it has sent its planes to the air around Cuba -- and then it consulted its allies and the international organizations. From now on, war or peace -- the ghastly nuclear war -- will depend on what the United States intelligence service may deem it fit to affirm. It is as though international organizations and the Security Council have no reason to exist, as though any State could unilaterally assume the right to decide when certain measures affect its security. Why are you here, then, gentlemen? Why are you meeting as representatives of members of the Security Council? If such an idea is to prevail, if such an outlook is to be accepted, why are you here?

I should like the representatives on the Security Council to tell us what right one Member of the Organization has to insult and attack another Member State because of its social system. As far as we know, the United Nations was born of the common effort of many States, with different social systems, in their struggle against Nazi and fascist intolerance. Well, what is the difference between the threats and aggressions of Hitler against his victims and the present aggressions of the United States against Cuba because of its social system?

What does it mean that our system is not negotiable in this hemisphere, and what type of morality is it that guides a Government to negotiate with systems in accordance with their geographical locations? What contempt for the principles of the Charter -- a Charter signed by States enjoying different social systems -- is inherent in such practices. The Charter imposes peaceful negotiation on States in the settlement of their disputes. Cuba has always been ready to carry out peaceful negotiations, and the verbatim records of the United Nations in all bodies of this Organization will bear that out. Cuba has always been ready to seek a peaceful settlement of its conflict with the United States. But what has been the North American reply? It has been the haughty reply of one who tries to impose might over the law.

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(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

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Even now, what the United States has done is to adopt a unilateral measure after, based on its thirst for domination and neo-colonialist control -- that is at the naval blockade of Cuba adds up to -- and then, after doing that, to invoke the Security Council and other international bodies, with the idea of having them confirm its flagrant violation of law. That is the purpose of the United States. It takes a measure behind the back of this Organization, it takes a measure behind the back of the regional organization, it takes a measure behind the back of international law -- and then, through its pressures of all kinds, it tries to force the international bodies to confirm what international morality and law must repudiate.

To what international organization did the United States turn before the event, to inform it of the aggressive intent of the United States? Why did it not accuse us before this Council and await the decision of the Council? The United States did not do so because it does not have one legal or moral reason upon which to base its measures of force taken against our country -- measures of force which hurl the world to the brink of nuclear war and extermination.

**CLASSIFIED**

(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, C.)

What right has the United States to ask for disarming and dismantling when it occupies a base in Cuba against the will of our own people possesses all over the world aggressive bases against Member States of the Organization? What basis has the United States for asking that other should go to Cuba? Logically, United Nations observers should stop the United States bases from which invaders and pirates enter and harass a small State, whose only crime is that of the development of its own people. We will not accept any kind of aggression in matters which fall within our domestic jurisdiction. The imperialist adventures in the Congo will not be repeated in Cuba.

The United Nations has no reason to implicate itself in the aggressive measures adopted by a great Power against a small Member State unilaterally and without a word from the United Nations. The United States, which did not denounce Cuba to this international Organization, did take measures without the consent of the Organization and has no right whatever to exonerating from the Organization in its violation of the law. Such a blessing or endorsement would be a shameful page in the annals of this Organization; it would be the very seed of its destruction and the destruction of all mankind.

The United Nations must halt the arrogant intimidation that is being exercised over it by the United States. Either the United Nations will stop the United States in its headlong use of force, or the United States will destroy the United Nations and begin the extermination of thousands of people, including thousands of North Americans.

The naval blockade unilaterally decreed by the United States is an act of war against the sovereignty and independence of our country and it is a measure that our people will resist by all means and in all ways. It is a desperate act on the part of the United States Government. It failed in all its efforts to destroy our revolution; now it is taking its last stand -- although this may endanger the lives of thousands of people all over the world. The United States sent saboteurs to our country, and failed; it sent invasions to our country, and failed. The Cuban fiasco, as it is called here -- and perhaps it is better understood that way -- is indelibly written

Mr. Garcia-Incharragui. 247

... Cuban failure and defeat. United States felt that, by means of the economic boycott and other pressures, other countries would not trade with Cuba and that thus we might be besieged and finished by famine. How does that sound, Mr. President -- to destroy a country, a Member of our Organization, by hunger? What heroism to try to destroy a country by hunger because of its social regime, in the so-called Decade of Development.

But once again the United States failed. We would not bow to hunger.

What could the United States do then to reach an agreement with Cuba? For the peace of the world, we wish it had done so, but that did not suit its pride, its arrogance, its background as an aggressor Government of which The New York Times today us a summing up. It matters not a whit that the Charter imposes on the United States the duty of settling its controversies peacefully; it matters not that the Charter imposes on Member States the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force. In the mind of the United States, this applies to the powerful nations, to those possessing nuclear weapons, but not to Cuba, a small country a mere ninety miles from the empire.

Well, Cuba has shaken off forever the shackles of the "sphere of influence". Cuba has ceased forever to belong to that area referred to by Mr. Kennedy as "well known because of its historic and special relations with the United States." Cuba is in Latin America, the Latin America of Rodó and Martí, the Latin America of Benito Juarez and of the heirs of Chapultepec. And the United States has the shamelessness -- and I regret to have to use such a word -- to refer here to the background and history of the relations of the United States with the Latin American community during the last hundred and fifty years, a history of pillage and depreciation, of violence and intervention, a history of confiscation of territory and of domination unequalled by any empire in the history of humanity.

This America of ours, the America of Martí, has as its northern limits the River Bravo -- perhaps the representative of the United States might ask his specialists to translate that word. Cuba is a territory free of all Yankee intervention, influence and is a member of that Latin American Community.

(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

Finally, the United States calls upon the Soviet Union to discuss with it the Cuban question. Does the United States not realize that the majority of the States of the world respect Cuba and that, among those States which respect Cuban sovereignty, is the Soviet Union? So accustomed is the United States to settle problems in the colonialist way that it forgets that the relations between Cuba and other States are based on equality and on respect for the sovereignty of all, and that Cuba, and Cuba alone, has the right to discuss and to decide upon its disputes with other States -- the United States among them.

Article 2 (4) of the Charter states:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

The American blockade against our country is an act of war. It is use of force by a great Power against the independence of our home. It is a criminal act violating the Charter and the Principles of our Organization. We shall resist those illegal measures of North American imperialism. The duty of our people and our Government to the imminent armed attack of the United States has been general mobilization.

Our great leader -- and I say "great leader" from a heart filled with love and respect because it was he who led us to victory over tyranny, and he who has directed and guided our people in all the battles which we have fought against imperialism -- Fidel Castro, stated recently:

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(Mr. Garcia-Inchaustegui, Cuba)

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"A Yankee who dies invading this land will die as a pirate in the eyes of the world; he will die as a bandit.

"The Cuban who dies defending his homeland will die in the eyes of the world surrounded by glory, accompanied by law and by the warm feelings of all the peoples of the world.

"And if they come, if they come ... many Yankees will die because they will not catch us unawares, with our guard down; they are not going to surprise us and find us disarmed; they will not catch us napping."

We request the Security Council, on behalf and for the sake of the Charter, and for international morality and for the sake of the principles of law, and appeal for the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces of the United States around the coast of Cuba and the cessation of the illegal, unilateral blockade adopted by the Government of the United States, which thus shows its contempt for the Charter. We ask for the immediate withdrawal of all ships, troops and planes sent to our shores. We ask for the cessation of the provocative acts in Guantanamo and of the piratical attacks organized by agents in the service of the United States Government. We ask for the cessation of all interventionist measures taken by the United States Government which interferes in the domestic affairs of Cuba, and we ask for the cessation of all violations of our air and sea space.

When the United States decided on war against our country, it ignored its own public opinion. Recent investigations and polls of that opinion have shown that the majority of the American people do not share the aggressive intent of the American monopolies. The President of the United States recently made a hypocritical appeal to our people. It is the appeal of one that offends our peoples, it is an appeal from one who attacks our country and tries to destroy it by hunger and famine, who has no ways left to break our country and force it to its knees, as they had our country on its knees earlier, in a period which the representative of the United States so wistfully recalled here. Now that Government wishes to commit the "heroism" of attacking us with its armies.

Well, our people, which does not hate the American people, our people that loves freedom even more, that its own life, that its independence more than its own existence, our people that loves peace itself will give the answer.

## DECLASSIFIED

It is already giving the answer as it had given it in the past. It will be the same answer of our statement and our motto: "Country or death, we shall die". Never have we felt that the words of our national anthem were more appropriate. Mr. Kennedy, aggressors, all of you: to die in Cuba for our cause is to be truthful. Cubans will live to see imperialism bite the dust of defeat. It is to live and Cubans will live to see the new and promising socialist society. Cuba, and Cubans will live to see the new and promising socialist society.

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